

FOCUS

The monthly newsletter of the Joint Center for Political Studies

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Northern Money, Southern Homes

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*Many questions, few answers
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Focus Has New Look, New Feature

In this combined June-July issue of *Focus*, we bring our readers a publication that has been completely redesigned and that includes four additional pages containing a new feature, the JCPS Political TrendLetter. *Focus* will return to its regular monthly schedule in August.

This is the first time *Focus* has been substantially redesigned since it began publication in 1972. After 14 years, *Focus* was due for an overhaul. But since our newsletter has been the most celebrated of all the JCPS publications and has been commended by many readers for its quality and meatiness, we have kept firmly in mind the admonition, "If it's not broken, don't fix it."

So in redesigning *Focus*, we did not try to "fix it" or change it. But we did recognize that things done well can always be done better. So our goal was to provide more of the same but in a better way. With the help of staff and our graphics consultants, we tried to make our publication more attractive and readable, and to provide more space for the information we want to share with our readers. We think we have achieved our goal. We hope our readers will agree.

As for the new Political TrendLetter, it has been on the drawing board for over a year. Its extensive coverage of black political participation is unique. In a terse, lively style, we cover a number of political issues and keep our readers apprised of major developments and trends as they unfold each month.

The redesigned *Focus* is the centerpiece of the Joint Center's recently launched National Associates Program. Subscribers to the Associates Program receive not only the monthly issues of *Focus*, but also substantial discounts on all JCPS publications (several new publications are previewed in this issue). In addition, JCPS Associates have access to our growing computer data bases, research collections, and the vast array of information services that (thanks to computers and additional staff) the center is now able to offer the public.

Members of the Associates Program can use the information services we provide to meet many needs. People who write speeches and articles, conduct research, teach courses, or simply want to keep up-to-date on the social, economic, and political condition of black Americans will find our information services invaluable.

But to provide these information services, the Joint Center must charge a modest membership fee to supplement its income from other sources. While *Focus* will continue to be sold on a subscription and single-copy basis, the Associates Program clearly offers added benefits and is therefore far more economical.

Information produced in a timely manner is crucial for all Americans—voters, scholars, corporate executives, and civil rights activists—who are committed to the pursuit of justice and equality in contemporary America. An informed citizenry is our greatest bulwark against ignorance, intolerance, and inaction. The center is committed to gathering, producing, and disseminating information that is important to those concerned about black America. We hope, therefore, that the refurbished *Focus* will improve our ability to fulfill our mission. We hope, too, that our readers agree and will show their support by joining our Associates Program.

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Northern Money, Southern Homes

Black Economic Well-Being Varies In Study of 48 Metros

by William O'Hare

Income and home-ownership are crucial measures of economic well-being. Income measures the flow of dollars into a household, and home-ownership and home value reflect accumulated wealth and community status. By looking at these measures, we get a different view of black America from that provided by any single indicator.

The table on this page uses income and home-ownership to rank the nation's 48 metropolitan areas where the black population is at least 100,000. A word of caution: *The ranking is based solely on economic measures and ignores factors such as race relations, residential segregation, the economic base, and educational opportunities, all of which are important determinants of the quality of life for blacks.*

Data from the 1980 census show that:

- The economic status of blacks differed strikingly from one metropolitan area to another. For example, median household income ranged from \$8,763 in Mobile, Ala., to \$18,826 in Nassau-Suffolk, N.Y. Home-ownership was 18 percent in New York City but 61 percent in nearby Nassau-Suffolk. Median home values were \$17,500 in Philadelphia, Pa., but \$69,100 in San Diego, Calif.

Dr. O'Hare is associate director of social policy research at JCPS. The findings of his study are presented in greater detail in "The Best Metros for Blacks," *American Demographics*, July 1986, pages 27-33.

- Even within the same state, differences were great. For four metropolitan areas in Ohio, for example, the rankings were Columbus—6th, Dayton—8th, Cincinnati—28th, and Cleveland—44th.
- Southern metro areas ranked a little higher than northern metro areas. Four of the top five metros are in the South, and all of the bottom five metro areas are in the North.
- Incomes were generally higher in the North, but home-ownership was higher in the South.
- Whites in all 48 metros had a higher economic status than blacks, in terms of income, home-ownership, and average home value.
- Even in the highest ranking metros, black income is only 77 percent of white income, home-ownership only 87 percent, and average home value only 83 percent.

48 Metros Ranked For Economic Well-Being

To develop this ranking of black economic well-being in the 48 metropolitan areas, nine criteria were analyzed: black household incomes, home-ownership rates, and home values; the gap between the black and white values for these variables; and the black value as a percentage of the white value for the three indicators.

OVERALL RANK AVERAGE VALUE

1 Nassau-Suffolk, NY	4.7
2 Miami, FL	13.7
3 Columbia, SC	14.9
4 Richmond, VA	15.1
5 Newport News-Hampton, VA	15.4
6 Columbus, OH	15.7
7 Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	16.1
8 Dayton, OH	17.2
9 San Diego, CA	17.3
10 Gary-Hammond-East Chicago, IN	17.3
11 Indianapolis, IN	19.3
12 Charleston-North Charleston, SC	20.7
13 Augusta, GA-SC	21.1
14 Tampa-St. Petersburg, FL	21.1
15 Nashville-Davidson, TN	21.4
16 Greensboro-Winston Salem-High Point, NC	21.9
17 Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood, FL	22.0
18 Houston, TX	22.0

19 New York, NY-NJ	22.4
20 Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Portsmouth, VA-NC	22.6
21 San Francisco-Oakland, CA	23.0
22 Jacksonville, FL	23.3
23 Kansas City, MO-KS	23.3
24 Washington, DC-MD-VA	23.6
25 Mobile, AL	23.6
26 Charlotte-Gastonia, NC	24.4
27 Raleigh-Durham, NC	24.4
28 Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	26.8
29 Birmingham, AL	27.2
30 Jackson, MS	27.4
31 Baton Rouge, LA	27.4
32 Philadelphia, PA-NJ	27.6
33 Detroit, MI	27.9
34 Louisville, KY-IN	28.8
35 Dallas-Ft. Worth, TX	29.2
36 Shreveport, LA	29.4
37 Boston, MA	30.2
38 St. Louis, MO-IL	31.0
39 New Orleans, LA	31.1
40 Baltimore, MD	31.2
41 Pittsburgh, PA	31.3
42 Atlanta, GA	31.7
43 Memphis, TN-AR-MS	32.1
44 Cleveland, OH	32.1
45 Chicago, IL	33.2
46 Milwaukee, WI	34.9
47 Newark, NJ	35.7
48 Buffalo, NY	41.9

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

BU Eases First-Year Stress To Graduate More Black Doctors

Goal Is to Reverse National Decline

by Arthur J. Culbert

The nation's medical schools are producing a dismally small number of black doctors and have failed to meet the goal set by the American Association of Medical Colleges (AAMC) in 1970 of 12 percent black medical student representation by 1974. In the fall of 1985, for instance, 1,117 blacks entered medical school—6.6 percent of the total entering class. This number in fact represents a decline from the high mark of 7.5 percent in the classes of 1973-1974 and 1974-1975.

Though the percentage of blacks graduating from medical school has not risen, the applicant pool is growing stronger and black students' MCAT scores are increasing, according to a study by Steven Shea and Mindy T. Fullilove of Columbia University. Thus, medical schools have failed to meet the challenge of providing their minority students with a program of study that helps ensure academic success.

First Year Is Crucial

Studies by the AAMC have identified the first year of medical school as a particularly difficult experience for all students, and it seems to be even more difficult for black and other minority students. The percentage of blacks who repeat the first year is five times the percentage of all medical students.

The author is assistant dean of the Boston University School of Medicine and director of the Boston University Early Medical School Selection Program.

In explaining the difficulties black students face, Dr. Louis Sullivan, president of Morehouse School of Medicine, pointed to the scarcity of role models and poor counseling in high school and college. In an eloquent article published in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, "The Status of Blacks in Medicine," he wrote that black students "are often steered into vocational courses and less rigorous academic subjects, leaving many of them poorly prepared for the study of medicine."

BU Programs

Boston University's efforts to graduate more black physicians fit in well with other BU programs designed to reduce the first-year pressures faced by all medical students.

The Modular Medical Integrated Curriculum (MMEDIC) program, begun in 1977 and open to all BU undergraduates, admits selected students to medical school at the end of their sophomore year and provides them with specially designed courses in the basic medical sciences during their junior and senior years, for which they receive credit toward both the B.A. and M.D. degrees.

In this way, medical school is accessible to students without their having to take the MCAT. Thus, students who do not do well on standardized tests but are otherwise qualified are not prevented from going to medical school—and they are freed of the usual undergraduate premed pressures. In addition, with

the spreading out of their introduction to medical school, entering students have far more self-confidence about their ability to succeed.

In 1982 BU applied the MMEDIC principles of early admission and selected transition courses to a program for undergraduates at eight other colleges: the four black colleges that make up the Atlanta (Georgia) University Center (Clark, Morehouse, Morris Brown, and Spelman); Hampton University; Pembroke State University (which has the largest group of American Indian undergraduates east of the Mississippi); the College of the Virgin Islands; and Tougaloo College.

Called the Early Medical School Selection Program (EMSSP), this program allows students from the participating schools to be admitted to BU School of Medicine in their sophomore year; the students spend two summers at BU and then, during their senior year, come to BU to take the same specially designed courses as the MMEDIC students (for which they, too, receive double credit).

The data available so far show that in the first year of medical school, students in both the MMEDIC and the EMSSP courses perform astonishingly well in comparison with other first-year students. Thus, by using nontraditional methods to select and prepare students for medical school, BU has shown that it is possible to remedy recognized deficiencies in the educational pathway. ■



POLITICAL TREND LETTER

In This Issue:

- Blacks think Jesse Jackson should seek the Democratic presidential nomination in 1988, but rejected candidates he supported in four primaries in 1986.
- The GOP is fielding more black congressional candidates— even in the South.
- Black congressional incumbents are big winners in their primaries.
- Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley is gaining on Republican Governor George Deukmejian.
- The Mitchells of Maryland, a political dynasty, are seeking higher offices.

Jesse Jackson's Endorsements

Though his personal popularity with blacks remains high, **Jesse Jackson has been unable to convince a majority of black voters to support the candidates he favors.** In New Jersey's 10th district (Newark), Jackson endorsed black City Councilman **Donald Payne**, who was attempting to unseat veteran white Congressman **Peter Rodino**. Even though Jackson carried this district in the 1984 Democratic presidential primary, his support for Payne (including four days of campaigning) was not enough: **Rodino, whose congressional seniority and long-time support for civil rights causes has endeared him to black voters, won easily.**

Jackson also endorsed former Congresswoman **Katie Hall**, who sought a comeback in Indiana's 1st congressional district (Gary). Although he won this predominantly white district in 1984, his support was not enough to return Katie Hall to Congress. **Voters chose to stay with the incumbent, Representative Pete Visclosky.**

In North Carolina, Jackson campaigned unsuccessfully for U.S. Senate candidate **Theodore Kinney**, a businessman. Kinney won only 4 percent of the vote, even though Jackson had gotten 25 percent of the vote in the North Carolina Democratic primary in 1984.

In the mayoralty race in Savannah, Georgia, Jesse Jackson supported former Alderman **Roy Jackson** against popular four-term Mayor **John P. Rousakis**. In the runoff, Roy Jackson won 33 percent of the vote and Rousakis 67 percent. Blacks make up 46 percent of Savannah's voting-age population, but **Rousakis led even in heavily black districts of the city.**

Despite these setbacks, **Jackson's personal popularity remains very high among blacks:** a *Washington Post* poll conducted in January 1986 gave him an 87 percent approval rating, with 67 percent supporting him in seeking the Democratic presidential nomination again, and 53 percent supporting him in making an independent presidential bid.

Blacks in the GOP

Black Republicans are still a rare breed, and **none of the 1986 black Republican congressional candidates is expected to win.** Several are running, however, including **Lamar Keels**, 4th district of Arkansas (Pine Bluff); **Ron Crutcher**, 3rd district of Ohio (Dayton); **Portia Scott**, 5th district of Georgia (Atlanta); **St. George Crosse**, **Isiah Fletcher**, and **Walter Manning**, all in the 7th district of Maryland (Baltimore); **Ron Taylor**, 2nd district of Illinois (Chicago); **Mildred Jefferson**, 8th district of Massachusetts (Boston); and **Mary Griffin**, 13th district of Michigan (Detroit).

Attorney **George Haley**, brother of author **Alex Haley**, is one of nine Republicans **seeking the seat being vacated by retiring Senator Charles Mathias** (R-Md.), a strong civil rights supporter. The Democrats are expected to win this seat.

Incumbents Up, Challengers Down

Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) members are all **heavily favored to be reelected** without serious opposition. The winners so far, most in landslide victories, are: from Chicago, **Charles Hayes** (1st district), **Cardiss Collins** (7th district), and **Gus Savage** (2nd district); from Cleveland, **Louis Stokes** (21st district); from Houston, **Mickey Leland** (18th); from Philadelphia, **William Gray** (2nd); from California, **Ron Dellums** (8th, Oakland), **Julian Dixon** (28th, Los Angeles), **Augustus Hawkins** (29th, Los Angeles), and **Mervyn Dymally** (31st, Compton). Other CBC members are running in states with later primaries.

The **tightest races were in Chicago**, where Collins won with 59.7 percent of the vote and Savage staved off six challengers to garner 49.8 percent support.

Collins's margin of victory probably came from the **predominantly white suburban parts of her district**, which gave her 65 percent of the vote. Blacks split their votes between Collins and her opponent, black Chicago City Councilman **Danny Davis**. Collins also may have benefited from a "non-endorsement": Chicago Mayor **Harold Washington** **stayed neutral to avoid antagonizing women voters**, who feared the loss of the only congressional seat held by a black woman. (In 1983, Collins refused to endorse Washington's historic bid for mayor.)

While incumbent blacks were riding high, **challengers came out losers.** In Alabama's 7th congressional district (Tuscaloosa), **William McKinley Branch** (a probate court judge) got only 14 percent of the vote, and **Samuel Taylor** (a farmer) received 4 percent, a long way from qualifying for the runoff. As noted earlier, **Katie Hall** in Indiana, **Theodore Kinney** in North Carolina, and **Donald Payne** in New Jersey also lost.

Only four nonincumbents so far have survived their primary races. Two are Republicans—**Lamar Keels** in Arkansas and **Ron Crutcher** in Ohio—who were unopposed but have little chance of winning the general election.

The third is former Assistant State Attorney General **Mike Espy**, a Democrat in Mississippi's 2nd congressional district (Mississippi Delta) who won 50.1 percent of the vote, avoiding a runoff by only 80 votes. Espy's troubles are not over, however: the defeated candidate, white businessman **Pete Johnson**, who came in second with 25.9 percent of the vote, has alleged corruption and fraud and has threatened to fight all the way to the Supreme Court.

The fourth is Virginia State Senator **Robert Scott**, the second black to serve in Virginia's upper house. He was unopposed for the Democratic nomination and is running in the 29 percent-black 1st district (Newport News) for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives against two-term Republican incumbent Herb Bateman. Bateman is currently favored to win, but Scott (who now represents a predominantly white state senatorial district) is expected to give him a tough fight.

These results seem to fit the national trend in the 1986 elections. According to pollster Peter Hart, most voters seem to be more concerned with local issues and the merits and character of individual candidates and less concerned with national issues, the Reagan presidency, or liberalism versus conservatism. Under such conditions—the absence of controversial, attention-grabbing issues that challengers can exploit—the advantages of incumbency (name recognition, funds, and media attention) are readily apparent.

Across the Nation

California

In the race for governor, Los Angeles Mayor **Tom Bradley appears to be narrowing Republican Governor George Deukmejian's lead.** An early May sampling by Mervyn Field's California Poll showed Deukmejian leading 58 percent to 36 percent. But a mid-May sampling by the *Los Angeles Times* gave Deukmejian 46 percent to Bradley's 36 percent, with 16 percent undecided.

Georgia

In the race for the Democratic nomination for U.S. Representative in the 5th district (Atlanta), State Senator **Julian Bond has a sizable lead over his principal three black opponents**—City Councilman **John Lewis**, pro-business candidate **Charles Johnson**, and community activist **Jan Douglas**.

Illinois

In the 1987 race for mayor of Chicago, former Mayor **Jane Byrne will challenge black incumbent Harold Washington** for the Democratic nomination, and black State Representative **Larry Bullock** (a foe of Washington's) is hinting he may also run in the primary.

Louisiana

In the New Orleans mayoralty runoff, former black City Councilman **Sidney Barthelemy defeated black State Senator William Jefferson** 58 percent to 42 percent. The voting-age population of New Orleans is 51 percent black and 49 percent white. Barthelemy won 86 percent of the white vote and 30 percent of the black vote. Several recent elections in New Orleans have followed this pattern—two black candidates running against each other, with white voters holding the balance of power—and some commentators expect that future elections will continue to do so.

Maryland

The big news here is that retiring Congressman **Parren Mitchell is running for lieutenant governor on the ticket with Attorney General Stephen Sachs**, who is in an uphill battle to win the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. Baltimore Mayor **William Schaefer had been heavily favored among blacks until Mitchell entered the fray.** Mitchell is expected to boost Sachs's appeal among blacks, who make up almost one-third of the Democratic primary electorate.

State Senator **Clarence Mitchell III** has announced plans to run for his uncle's congressional seat, and Baltimore City Councilmember **Michael Mitchell** is running for his brother Clarence Mitchell's seat in the state senate.

Continued on next page

Massachusetts

In the 8th congressional district (Boston), a March Harrison-Goldberg poll showed black State Representative **Mel King running second to environmental activist Joseph Kennedy II**, son of the late Robert Kennedy, in a five-way race for the Democratic nomination. **Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill**, Speaker of the House, is retiring from the seat at the end of his term. The poll gave King 15 percent of the vote, Kennedy 34 percent.

Michigan

Black Wayne County (Detroit) Executive **William Lucas is running for the Republican gubernatorial nomination**. Lucas has been touted nationally by the GOP, and political observers believe he could win with the majority of the white vote and 15 percent of the black vote. Detroit Mayor **Coleman Young is backing the Democratic incumbent, Governor James Blanchard**, but according to a poll conducted in April by Lauer, Bailey, and Associates, **one-third of black Democratic voters in Wayne County would be at least "somewhat likely" to switch to the Republican primary in August to support Lucas**.

New Jersey

The black vote has been **anything but predictable in this state**. Blacks gave 60 percent of their vote to Republican Governor **Thomas Kean**. They supported veteran white incumbent Democratic Congressman **Peter Rodino** over black City Councilman **Donald Payne**. In Newark, they ousted four-term incumbent black Mayor **Kenneth Gibson** and elected City Councilman **Sharpe James**, also black and a former Gibson ally. Atlantic City's blacks split their votes between three black candidates in a four-way non-partisan race for

mayor, but in the runoff reelected black incumbent Mayor **James Usry**, a Republican.

New York

In the 6th congressional district (Queens), in a special election to fill deceased Congressman Joseph Addabbo's (D) seat, African Methodist Episcopal minister **Floyd Flake beat out State Representatives Alton Waldon and Andrew Jenkins and two white candidates**. But a subsequent count of the **absentee ballots put Waldon ahead by 208 votes**, thus he, too, is claiming victory. Flake, whose name was not on the absentee ballot because of a technical error, is threatening to take the matter to court. The **U.S. House**, which bears constitutional responsibility for determining its own membership, **could ultimately make the decision**.

Ohio

Carl Stokes, former Cleveland mayor and current Cleveland municipal court judge, **swamped five opponents** in the Democratic primary race for the Cuyahoga County common pleas judge.

Texas

In Potter County (the Panhandle), where blacks make up only 8 percent of the population, **all four black candidates on the ballot won** in the May primary. None of them will have to face a Republican opponent in the November elections. So barring a successful write-in campaign, all four will take office. One of the hottest races was for county judge: **Elisha Demerson has apparently become the first black county judge in Texas**.

"Effective Schools" Reforms Get Mixed Grade

Many Questions, Few Answers on How Reforms Work

by Denise Alston

A group of black leaders and educators came together in May at the invitation of the Johnson Foundation to discuss the Effective Schools (ES) movement, which aims to restore excellence to public school education. The group heard from ES researchers and practitioners, and raised questions about whether the ES approach could be applied in the predominantly black schools in urban centers. All present shared a concern that something must be done to improve the educational achievement of black students. They also agreed that the ES research did not answer all the questions they had raised, and urged caution in adopting the ES approach.

This article is an introduction to the issues raised by the ES movement.

Isolating Students

The assumption underlying past reform efforts was that low-achieving students suffered from some sort of handicap or "deficit" because of their parents' inadequate education and low socio-economic status. Thus, the solution adopted was to introduce "compensatory education" programs that isolated students and sought to remedy their deficits so they could enter the educational mainstream.

But even with past reforms, black students did not gain much ground:

blacks are three times more likely than whites to be placed in "special education" classes and less likely to be found in programs for the gifted and talented. In high schools, blacks are grossly overrepresented in vocational education programs—many of which prepare students only for low-status occupations. And even though more black 18- to 24-year-olds complete high school than did so in the mid-1970s, fewer of these graduates go on to college.

"Effective Schools"

The limited success of the "deficit student" model has led educational reformers to focus instead on improving the schools. The currently popular Effective Schools (ES) movement is an attempt to do just that. An "effective school" is one in which students, regardless of their economic background, obtain the basic skills necessary for academic success. The schools are reorganized in such a way as to make possible academic achievement by all its students.

Underlying ES reforms is research that found "maverick" schools where student achievement exceeded expectations. "Deficits" in the student had little bearing on their educational success: the test scores of low-income students were comparable to the scores of affluent or middle-class students. The key components of an "effective school" are:

1. A school climate conducive to learning and free of disciplinary problems.

2. Teacher expectations that all students can achieve regardless of social background.

3. Emphasis on developing basic skills.

4. Use of extensive tests to monitor student performance.

5. A principal who is a strong leader to direct the instructional program.

Common-Sense Approach

The strength of the ES movement is its appeal to our common-sense understanding of how schools should function. The glaring weakness is a lack of knowledge of how the five factors actually work to produce academic success.

The Effective Schools approach is potentially a valuable alternative to the compensatory education programs. Yet, before embracing it, the black community, among others, will require answers to a host of critical questions:

1. How does a school rid itself of major disciplinary problems without simply expelling the troublemakers?

2. How do teachers with deeply ingrained notions of the limited abilities of low-income students suddenly transform their attitudes and behaviors toward such students?

3. What skills does the average principal need to lead an effective school?

4. Do ES practices work for students in compensatory programs as well as for the mainstream students?

5. Of greatest importance, can the black community afford to follow reformers who say, "We don't know how it works, just trust us"? ■

Dr. Alston is a JCPS Public Policy Fellow.

Black Businesses in Transition

Strong Growth in Services Offsets Traditional Sector Downturn

by Robert E. Suggs

Any measure used to assess the progress made by black Americans should include their participation in private business. In a capitalist system, business is the mechanism that creates wealth—and, as Frederick Douglass observed more than 100 years ago, "With money and property comes the means of knowledge and power. A poverty-stricken class will be an ignorant and despised class, and no amount of sentiment can make it otherwise."

The U.S. Bureau of the Census, in October 1985, released data gathered during the 1982 business census showing that the role of black businesses in the American economy continued to be negligible. Moreover, from some perspectives the condition of black businesses had even worsened. For example, their gross receipts, when measured in constant dollars, declined both in absolute terms and as a proportion of the economy.

But from other perspectives, black business changed significantly, and probably for the better. First, in the years from 1977 to 1982 black business was becoming more diversified and therefore less vulnerable to economic dislocations. In the areas where black firms had historically been concentrated (retail trade and personal services), the number of black firms declined dramatically; but black firms had also expanded into other industries that had been historically closed to them, like business services, heavy construction, highway construction, radio and television broadcasting, manufacturing, and wholesale trade.

The new census data show that total receipts (in constant dollars) of these firms rose 7 percent between 1977 and 1982, while the average receipts per firm jumped up by 23 percent. The 7 percent growth by these black-owned firms was double the growth rate for all firms in the economy.

Growth of Service Firms

The growth in service sector firms is particularly worth noting. These firms were 35.5 percent of all black firms in 1977, but rose to 43.4 of the total by 1982. Moreover, the growth was not even: personal service firms declined while business service firms thrived. (Business services include advertising, credit reporting and collection, and mailing, reproduction, and stenography. Personal services firms include laundries, photography studios, beauty shops, barber shops, funeral parlors, and shoe repair firms.) The receipts of business service firms more than doubled, and employment rose from 8 percent to 14 percent of the total of the labor force of all black firms. Of all the industrial divisions, only the division with business services showed a growth in employment from 1977 to 1982.

These emerging black firms have quickly moved to an elite position. Of the top 100 firms rated by *Black Enterprise* magazine, only 10 existed before 1960, and 76 were established after 1970.

New Managerial Pool

A major reason for the success of these new firms is the emergence of the first generation of blacks with managerial, technical, and professional experience in a desegregated workplace. This "growth in the pool of professional and managerial manpower" was the key determinant of black business growth, concluded the Minority Business Development Agency (MBDA) (part of the Commerce Department) in a study by two economists, Dr. David Swinton and Dr. John Handy.

These emerging black entrepreneurs entered new lines of business unlike their predecessors, who had been confined by segregation to the traditional areas of personal services and small retail trade. This represented a significant shift in the types of businesses owned by blacks. Research by Dr. Timothy Bates, of the University of Vermont, shows that in 1960 54.3

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percent of black businesses were in retail trade and personal services (e.g., Mom and Pop grocery stores, barber shops, and funeral parlors). By 1982, this share had declined to 35.3 percent, and the black share of the nontraditional, high growth businesses had risen sharply, as noted earlier.

Much is being learned of this new breed of entrepreneurs. MBDA researchers found that they "are considerably younger, better educated, and tend to have higher earnings than other minority self-employed and wage and salary earners." MBDA also asserts that "the firms in the emerging lines have the greatest potential for making a significant contribution to minority business development goals." Only time will tell if these judgments are valid, but the current evidence strongly suggests that if a black firm ever makes it to the Fortune 500, it would be one founded by this new generation of entrepreneurs.

Number of Firms

Between 1977 and 1982, the number of black-owned firms grew very rapidly. The rate of increase was 46.7 percent, which was twice the rate for the preceding five-year period and nearly four times the rate that all business firms grew between 1977 and 1982.

That rapid rate of growth raised the number of black firms from 231,203 in 1977 to 339,239 in 1982. However, even the higher figure brings black business up to only 2 percent of the total number of businesses in the country. Moreover, measured in terms of annual receipts, the overwhelming majority of black businesses are very small—too small to support their owners without outside employment. In 1982, nearly 80 percent of black firms had total receipts below \$25,000, and from those receipts the firms' owners had to pay business expenses and the costs of inventory.

Of the firms created between 1977 and 1982, 58.4 percent were very small: they had annual receipts of under \$5,000. And almost half of those (or one-quarter of all new firms) were "nonstore retail"—probably either street vendors or people selling door to door.

Receipts

In terms of total receipts, black firms did rather poorly during both the period 1972-1977 and the period 1977-1982. (Throughout this article, all figures for receipts have been converted to constant 1982 dollars.)

From 1972 to 1977, which was a period of growth, the receipts of black firms grew, but at less than one-third the rate at which the receipts of all firms grew. From 1977 to 1982, the average annual receipts of black firms fell 38.4 percent. To be sure, 1982 was a year of severe recession—but the decline experienced by black firms was four times the decline experienced by all firms.

The relationship over time between total receipts and number of firms is another indication of economic health, and this relationship, too, indicates that black

Parren Mitchell to Speak at JCPS Set-Aside Conference

The Joint Center will hold a conference on "Minority Set-Asides: The Changing Environment" on Wednesday, September 17, 1986, from 8:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C. Participants will address four critical issues: (1) The Origins and Objectives of Set-Asides, (2) The Constitutional Status of Set-Asides, (3) Developing Set-Asides, and (4) Administering Set-Aside Programs.

Congressman Parren Mitchell, chairman of the House Small Business Committee and the key legislator in enacting set-asides, will be the luncheon speaker. Congressman Mitchell is retiring from Congress and is running for lieutenant governor of Maryland on the ticket with Attorney General Stephen Sachs.

For more information, contact Janice Glasgow of The Creative Connection at (202) 842-4170.

businesses as a whole have not done well. Whereas the number of black firms nearly doubled between 1972 and 1982, receipts during the same period decreased slightly.

Employment

One of the most important attributes of business activity is the number of paid employees. Indeed, an oft-cited policy goal of black business development is the creation of new jobs.

By this measure, the situation of black businesses has not improved in recent years. Between 1977 and 1982, despite the large increase in the total number of black-owned firms, the number of black-owned firms with paid employees other than their owners actually decreased 5.3 percent. (During the preceding five-year period, it had increased 63.1 percent.) The number of employees in black-owned firms increased slightly (1 percent)—far less, however, than the 11.5 percent increase that took place between 1972 and 1977.

By 1982, black-owned businesses were employing a smaller proportion of the labor force than they had employed five years earlier. Excluding proprietors and partners, if black-owned firms were employing only black workers, they would be employing only about 1.5 percent of the more than 11 million blacks in the 1982 labor force. Inclusion of proprietors and partners raised the total number of employees to only 4 percent of the black labor force. But one should bear in mind that nearly half of all black firms had receipts under \$5,000 and were, therefore, presumably secondary activities for people whose full-time work lay elsewhere. Thus, even the 4 percent figure probably overstates the true impact of black business on employment. ■

HIGH COURT CITES JCPS BOOK IN KEY VOTING RIGHTS CASE

In a major victory for minority voters, the Supreme Court in the case of *Thornburg v. Gingles* struck down multi-member legislative districts in North Carolina for unlawful dilution of black voting strength.

Commenting on the Court's decision, Frank Parker, Joint Center Distinguished Scholar and expert on voting rights law, said, "This is a landmark decision which establishes important principles applicable to a number of pending voting rights cases. It is a very significant victory for minority voters' efforts to eliminate racially discriminatory voting structures, such as at-large city council elections. The decision will require the reversal or reconsideration of a number of lower court decisions which had denied the claims of minority voters."

In this landmark decision, Justice William Brennan several times cites an article by Mr. Parker in the Joint Center's publication *Minority Vote Dilution*, which is the only book on the subject. Published in 1984, the book is a collection of 12 essays by leading lawyers, political scientists, historians, and policy makers in the field. ■

NEW UP-DATED JCPS PUBLICATIONS NOW AVAILABLE

The 1986 edition of *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster* has now been published. The *Roster*, currently in its 16th year, is the only volume that lists the names of all black elected officials in the United States (along with their levels of office, addresses, and terms of office). The book also contains tables illustrating trends in the number and distribution of black elected officials since 1970, when the *Roster* was first published.

The new *Roster* shows that between January 1985 and January 1986 the number of black elected officials increased from 6,056 to 6,424, or 6.1 percent. Many of the new officials were the first blacks ever elected to public office in their jurisdictions.

Copies of the *Roster* are available for \$29.50 from the Joint Center.

The first edition of the biannual *Elected and Appointed Black Judges in the United States* is also now available from the Joint Center. *Black Judges* lists all of the more

than 800 black elected and appointed judicial officials in the United States. It includes their names, addresses, levels of office, and jurisdictions. Copies are available for \$10.00 from the Joint Center.

The second edition of the *JCPS Congressional District Fact Book* is now available also, and it promises to be an even more valuable source of information than the first one. The earlier edition, published in 1984, was hailed as a unique compact source of demographic, political, and socio-economic data on the states and congressional districts. Tables in the *Fact Book* also highlight the top 10 districts in several different categories (e.g., percentages of women in the work force, of college students, and of public-transit users). The new *Fact Book* has a redesigned format to make the material easier to use. Copies are available for \$6.95 from the Joint Center. ■

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